

**S4 Table. Qualitative Meta-synthesis of themes and sub-themes**

Levels and factors	Article references [Linked to S3 Table]
<b>INDIVIDUAL LEVEL</b>	
<b>MOTHER ATTRIBUTES</b>	
<b>Mother HIV positive status:</b> Being HIV positive has influenced feeding choices and exclusivity across policy periods, mostly towards EFF but recently EBF: <i>Fear of HIV transmission to the infant</i> was discussed mostly around mixed feeding, although fears of any breastmilk were expressed consistently <i>Knowledge about transmission risk</i> in breastmilk and while on ART tended to be inaccurate, usually overestimating risk (except early on) <i>Fear of disclosure through feeding method (formula and/or exclusivity)</i> , based on perceived community norms (see Community) <i>Timing of HIV diagnosis</i>	[2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17,19,20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31] [4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17,19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34] [2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 25, 27, 32]
<b>Employment:</b> The need to find work and/or go to work, resulted in formula feeds <i>Unemployment:</i> While generally supporting EBF, financial dependence also limited perceived choice	[2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33] [1, 2, 3, 7, 11, 17, 22, 23,25]
<b>Young age/Adolescent:</b> Young mothers talked about having less power to decide on feeding choices (see also Household). Some age-specific barriers to EBF: <i>Return to school</i> , resulting in a shift to formula <i>Body image</i> , such as sagging breasts due to breastfeeding	[17,23] [2, 7, 23, 28, 31, 33] [2, 4, 23, 29]
<b>Past feeding experiences:</b> Depending on the outcomes of experiences, this could influence current choices	[3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 29, 30, 34]
<b>Breastfeeding knowledge:</b> Accurate knowledge assisted EBF, particularly: <i>Milk sufficiency:</i> Knowing that breastmilk was enough for an infant <i>Duration:</i> Knowing how long to breastfeed exclusively <i>Superiority:</i> Being able to cite the superiority of breastmilk over formula <i>Low cost:</i> Avoidance of formula costs supported breastfeeding choice	[1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 19, 20] [4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 22,27, 29, 30] [5, 10, 12, 14, 20] [1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 17, 25, 28, 29, 31, 33]

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<p><b>Contamination beliefs:</b> Ideas that social or behavioural interactions could taint the quality of breastmilk and be passed onto infants threatened EBF</p> <p><b>Self-efficacy/confidence to breastfeed:</b> When low, this was also a threat to EBF</p> <p><b>Expressing:</b> Willingness and ability to express breastmilk supported EBF</p> <p><u>INFANT ATTRIBUTES</u></p> <p><b>Temperment, especially crying:</b> Crying was often interpreted as hunger or discomfort, leading to mixed feeding. Feeding was also used to silence crying.</p> <p><b>Growth:</b> Mothers used growth to identify if feeding choices were appropriate.</p> <p><b>Health events:</b> Conditions like oral thrush or HIV conversion led to feeding changes, usually away from EBF</p> <p><u>MOTHER-INFANT RELATIONSHIP</u></p> <p><b>Current feeding experiences:</b> The way feeding was experienced by mothers influenced whether feeding choices were maintained or not</p> <p><i><b>Practicality/ease:</b></i> How well a feeding choice was perceived to fit with lifestyle</p> <p><i><b>Perceived sufficiency:</b></i> Whether mothers felt their infant was satiated by milk</p> <p><i><b>Bonding/love:</b></i> Mothers feeling closer to their infants supported EBF</p> <p><i><b>Breast problems:</b></i> Mastitis, engorgement, and cracked nipples hindered EBF</p> <p><i><b>Food insecurity:</b></i> Mothers felt their own food insecurity contributed to insufficient milk, which led to mixed feeding</p> <p><b>Latching:</b> When infants struggled to latch, breastfeeding was abandoned</p>	<p>[3, 11, 13, 19, 20, 25, 28]</p> <p>[2, 3, 11, 22]</p> <p>[7, 8, 12, 31]</p> <p>[3, 31]</p> <p>[1, 3, 4, 7, 12, 14, 15, 19, 21, 22, 27, 30, 31, 33]</p> <p>[1, 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 19, 22, 28, 30]</p> <p>[3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 15]</p> <p>[1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 29, 31]</p> <p>[1, 3, 6, 9, 12, 20, 23, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34]</p> <p>[1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 20, 30, 31, 34]</p> <p>[3, 5, 6, 11, 12, 14, 28]</p> <p>[1, 3, 6, 10, 11, 12]</p> <p>[6, 30]</p> <p>[10, 32]</p>
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<b>SETTINGS LEVEL</b>	
<b>HEALTH SYSTEMS AND SERVICES</b>	
<p><b>Medical advice/counselling:</b> Health workers were reported to influence feeding choices, both for or against EBF, based on their advice and the following:</p> <p><i>(In)consistency of messages:</i> Within-facility inconsistencies were particularly damaging to EBF, often noted between PMTCT and labour wards</p> <p><i>(In)adequate messages:</i> Mothers often felt there were not told things that would have assisted them to make a choice or prepare for challenges</p> <p><b>EBF only:</b> If clear, single messages supported EBF, but messages were also experienced as inconsistent with community knowledge and/or experiences</p>	<p>[1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34]</p> <p>[3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 20, 24, 27, 29, 31, 32]</p> <p>[1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 22, 24, 29, 31]</p> <p>[3, 4, 5, 14, 20, 25, 29, 31, 34]</p>
<p><b>Free formula programme:</b> This reduced EBF practices and had its own issues:</p> <p><i>Insufficient/stock-outs:</i> Mothers using the programme reported not having enough to feed their infants and resorting to mixed feeding</p> <p><i>Brand stigma:</i> Associations between Pelargon formula from government and HIV meant mothers tried to buy alternatives or hide brand</p>	<p>[3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 24, 25, 28]</p> <p>[4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 24, 25]</p> <p>[12, 24, 27, 29, 32]</p>
<p><b>Mother-Baby Friendly Hospitals:</b> These facilities were noted by mothers, often by the forceful attitudes of staff as well as pro-breastfeeding practices:</p> <p><i>Restricting bottles or formula:</i> This was often described in the context of mothers hiding their feeding practices or being “forced” to change practices</p> <p><i>Lack of separation,</i> where mothers were able to stay with infants helped breastfeeding, although not all MBFH’s followed through</p> <p><i>Latching support,</i> provided by health workers was highly appreciated</p>	<p>[2, 4, 5, 10, 12, 31, 34]</p> <p>[2, 4, 5, 10, 12, 34]</p> <p>[9, 10, 31]</p> <p>[31, 33]</p>
<b>FAMILY SETTING</b>	
<p><b>Family influence:</b> Family members, particularly mothers, influence decisions. Fathers and siblings also influence. Specific influences included:</p> <p><i>Socio-cultural:</i> Pressuring mothers to follow cultural/family practices of feeding or cleaning that threaten EBF</p> <p><i>Living/caregiving arrangements:</i> Influenced decisions, giving family members more say over feeding practices, especially of young mothers</p>	<p>[1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34]</p> <p>[2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 25, 26, 31, 33]</p> <p>[2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29]</p>

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<p><b>Financial dependency:</b> Families who financially supported mothers and infants had more say over feeding practices</p> <p><b>Family support for HIV positive mothers:</b> This was strongly linked to support for EBF if the mothers disclosed</p> <p><b>Threat of violence/abandonment:</b> These fears worked against disclosure</p>	<p>[2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 14, 15, 20, 22, 23]</p> <p>[2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 27] [2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 18, 27, 32]</p>
<p><u>WORKPLACE/SCHOOL SETTING</u></p> <p><b>Employee letters:</b> One mother talked about trying to influence an employer to support EBF through a letter from the clinic.</p>	<p>[27]</p>
<p><u>COMMUNITY SETTING</u></p> <p><b>Gossiping/HIV stigma:</b> This was raised as an EBF barrier, as the practice is linked to HIV, which mothers addressed in the following ways:</p> <p><b>Concealment:</b> Where mothers hid their true feeding practice to avoid stigma</p> <p><b>Explanation:</b> Where community is educated about importance of EBF to gain support and to address/reduce HIV stigma</p> <p><b>Community support interventions:</b> Several articles described these directly:</p> <p><b>Buddies/peers/mentor mothers:</b> Mothers appreciated locally available support to advise or encourage them in the community setting</p> <p><b>Postnatal support:</b> A variety of ideas were suggested by mothers in addition to actual support through postnatal counselling, support groups and income generation projects.</p> <p><b>Milk bank/wet nurse:</b> This was noted as a support option only once</p>	<p>[3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34] [3, 8, 12, 15, 17, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 34] [5, 12, 19]</p> <p>[5, 11, 12, 13] [12, 13, 19]</p> <p>[5, 7, 11, 12, 22, 31]</p> <p>[3]</p>
<p><b>STRUCTURAL LEVEL</b></p>	
<p><u>SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT</u></p> <p><b>Mixed feeding norms:</b> Expectations to mixed feed from family and community were consistently referenced as a challenge for EBF</p> <p><b>Breastfeeding norms:</b> They expectation to breastfeed (often as part of mixed feeding) was noted by mothers across all policy periods</p>	<p>[1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 23, 25, 26, 31, 33] [1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 32]</p>

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<b>Motherhood norms:</b> Ideas of what it meant to be a good mother influenced decisions	[2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 16, 31]
<b>HIV stigma against formula feeding,</b> was reported widely	[2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32]
<b>HIV stigma towards any sort of exclusive feeding</b> was also reported	[2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 34]
<b>HIV stigma towards intervention,</b> such as buddies, was another experience	[12, 13]
<b><u>MARKET CONTEXT</u></b>	
<b>Culture of commercial formula:</b> A few articles highlighted how use of commercial formula is perceived as a culture in South Africa, preferred above other complementary foods	[21, 22, 30]
<b>Breastfeeding promotion:</b> Mothers talked about how materials/campaigns promoting breastfeeding influenced their decisions, with a call for clear messages	[14, 15]
<b>Media engagement:</b> Mothers discussed channels they use to seek out information on infant feeding via the Internet or social media	[33, 34]